

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 186669

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR,CO, CS, CU, VE

SUBJECT:CUBAN SANCTIONS

1. YOU SHOULD INFORM YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS THAT THE USG UNDERSTANDS WHY THEY MIGHT WISH TO MOVE AHEAD ON THE CUBAN ISSUE SOMEWHAT MORE RAPIDLY THAN ANY OF US HAD ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED. WE STILL PREFER A DELAY IN ANY ACTION UNTIL LATE IN THE YEAR BUT WILL NOT OBJECT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OAS COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY AT AN EARLIER DATE IF YOUR GOVERNMENTS FIND THAT NECESSARY. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ASSUME THEY SHARE OUR VIEW THAT THE PROCESS OUGHT NOT TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PANAMANIANIS HAVE PANICKED THE OAS INTO PRECIPITOUS ACTION. IT IS CLEAR THAT ONE OF CASTRO'S MAXIMUM OBJECTIVES IS TO DISCREDIT THE OAS AND THAT HIS SUCCESS WITH THE PANAMANIANIS HAS FUELED THIS APPETITE.

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2. IT IS ALSO OUR VIEW THAT THE OAS PROCESS SHOULD UNFOLD

IN A MANNER THAT PERMITS FULL CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE SYSTEM IN LINE WITH OUR COMMON COMMITMENTS. THE VIEWS OF EVERY OAS NATION DESERVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AND THAT FACT ARGUES STRONGLY AGAINST PRECIPITOUS ACTION.

3. WE HAVE BEEN GIVING SOME THOUGHT TO THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY PROCESS. IF YOUR GOVERNMENTS NOW PLAN TO GO AHEAD, WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT ON TIMING, PROCEDURES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE. WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THEY SHOULD NOT INTRODUCE THE INITIATIVE INTO THE OAS COUNCIL UNTIL AT LEAST THE FIRST WEEK OF SEPTEMBER. MOREOVER, GIVEN THE DIVISIVE NATURE OF THE ISSUE, THE COUNCIL OUGHT NOT TO VOTE ON THE PROPOSAL UNTIL THERE HAS BEEN TIME FOR ADEQUATE CONSULTATIONS, MAKING A TWO OR THREE WEEK INTERVAL BETWEEN INTRODUCTION AND THE VOTE HIGHLY DESIRABLE. THIS DELIBERATE PACING OF EVENTS SHOULD HELP COUNTERACT THE IMPRESSION THAT PANAMA HAS PANICKED THE OAS INTO HASTY OR ILL-CONSIDERED ACTION.

4. ANOTHER MATTER THAT REQUIRES CONSIDERATION IS THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF PANAMA IN THE OAS PERMANENT COUNCIL DURING THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER. CAN THEY OBTAIN ASSURANCES FROM PANAMA THAT THEIR CHAIRMAN WOULD COOPERATE IN SETTING UP THIS COMMITTEE? IF ONE ANALYZES THE VOTING SITUATION, THERE EXISTS THE POTENTIAL FOR AN UNWITTING ALLIANCE OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND THOSE WHO OPPOSE ANY OAS ACTION THAT COULD THWART THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

5. WE OFFER THESE SUGGESTIONS IN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION. YOUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN HELPFUL AND CANDID WITH US; WE WISH TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE. IF THE THREE COUNTRIES NOW FIND IT NECESSARY TO GO AHEAD, AND IF A SUITABLE TIME TABLE ALONG THE LINES WE HAVE INDICATED CAN BE WORKED OUT, THE USG WILL VOTE FOR A PROPOSAL IN THE PERMANENT COUNCIL TO ESTABLISH A COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY. THIS COMMITMENT ASSUMES THAT THE SPONSORS WILL FIRST OBTAIN MAJORITY SUPPORT AND THAT THE COUNCIL WILL NOT BE CALLED UPON TO CONSIDER THE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

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TIONS BEFORE LATE NOVEMBER. (YOU MIGHT WISH TO TAKE THE OCCASION IN MAKING THIS LATTER POINT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE TIMING OF THE US ELECTIONS IS NOT REPEAT NOT AT ALL THE ISSUE FOR US. RATHER, WE THINK IT MOST IMPORTANT THAT THE MEMBER STATES HAVE ADEQUATE TIME TO THINK THROUGH THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS ISSUE AND LOOK FOR COMMON GROUND IN MEETING IT.)

6. ALTHOUGH THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY IS A COLOMBIAN/COSTA RICAN IDEA, WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE CUBANS WILL SEEK TO DISCREDIT IT AS A US SCHEME. FOR THAT REASON, WE WOULD WITHHOLD WIDER KNOWLEDGE OF OUR SUPPORT UNTIL THE PROPOSAL HAD FAIRLY WIDESPREAD BACKING. WHEN AND IF THE PROPOSAL IS GIVEN TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS, WE WILL

SEEK THEIR VIEWS. WHEN IT IS MADE PUBLIC, WE WILL INITIALLY SAY TO THE PRESS ONLY THAT WE ARE CONSULTING WITH OTHER OAS MEMBERS.

7. FOR SAN JOSE AND BOGOTA: IF FACIO SHOULD DEPART FOR BOGOTA BEFORE THESE INSTRUCTIONS ARE RECEIVED, AMBASSADOR VAKY SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO SEE HIM AS WELL AS THE COLOMBIANS TO CONVEY THE FOREGOING.

8. FOR CARACAS: AS YOU HAVE POINTED OUT, FOREIGN MINISTER SCHACHT IS TOUCHY AND MAY NOT BE RELIABLE ON THIS ISSUE. YOU SHOULD DEFER CONSULTATIONS WITH HIM AT LEAST UNTIL WE HAVE THE COLOMBIAN AND COSTA RICAN REACTIONS. IF, HOWEVER, YOU SEE PRESIDENT PEREZ IN THE INTERIM YOU MAY AT YOUR DISCRETION DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH HIM ALONG THE FOREGOING LINES. KISSINGER

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